V. P. Franklin
YALE UNIVERSITY

"VOICE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY:" THE *PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE*, 1912–41

"ON the 28th of November 1884, the *Philadelphia Tribune* made its bow to the public. . . . And as long as memory holds majestic sway, the publisher will remember that in opening the *Tribune's* office in a small room on Sansom Street on that chilly November day, he did not have money enough to buy a stove to keep himself warm, after he had bought a second-hand table, chair, a pair of scissors and a five-cent bottle of mucilage. They were truly days of stress and storm." This reminiscence of Chris J. Perry provides a significant personal insight into the founding of the *Philadelphia Tribune*, the oldest continuously circulating black newspaper in the United States.[1] Most people would agree that having survived for over one hundred years, without missing an issue, is enough reason for recognition. But in examining the role of the newspaper in the history, development, and education of the Philadelphia black community, we are able to describe and fully document why the paper was so successful, and how a black newspaper served and functioned in one of the largest urban black communities in the country during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

According to various biographical sketches, Christopher James Perry, Sr., was born in 1854 in Baltimore, Maryland, and migrated to Philadelphia in 1873. The reasons for Perry's migration have not been recorded.[2] Initially, Perry attended night schools in the city and worked at a variety of jobs. Then in November 1881 he began to write a regular column for the Philadelphia *Sunday Mercury*, entitled, "Flashes and Sparks." The column presented lively and informative news on the comings and goings in the black community. But in 1884 the *Mercury*

folded, and Perry, finding himself without a job, set about the task of starting his own newspaper.[3] The four-page paper started out very well, with the circulation for 1887 as reported in Ayer's *Newspaper Annual and Digest* averaging 3,225 copies weekly.[4]

In the preface to his important examination of *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* in 1891, I. Garland Penn, then a Principal in the Lynchburg, Virginia public schools and former editor of the *Lynchburg, Virginia Laborer,* expressed his belief that the black press "has proven a power in the promotion of truth, justice and equal rights for an oppressed people. The reader cannot fail to recognize some achievement won by that people, the measure of whose rights is yet being questioned, and will readily see that the social, moral, political and educational ills of the Afro-American have been fittingly championed by these Afro-American journals and their editors. Certainly, the importance and magnitude of the work done by the Afro-American Press, the scope of its influence, and the beneficent results accruing from its labors, cannot fail of appreciation." Throughout his study, Penn discussed the intimate relationship between the social, political, and economic advancement of Afro-Americans; and the activities of the black press throughout the nation. Beginning with the publication of the first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal,* edited by John B. Russwurm and Samuel Cornish, in New York City in March 1827, Penn surveyed the various journals and magazines and provided a great deal of information on the backgrounds and careers of nineteenth century black editors and publishers. In the decade 1880 to 1890, Penn declared that "the Afro-American is seeking to advance in the educational field, and to be thirsting for knowledge. It begins with a time when Afro-American journalism is deeply interwoven into the fabric of the nation, and is seen to be an indispensable factor in the improvement of our race."

One of the black newspapers founded during this decade and discussed by Penn was the *Philadelphia Tribune.* He noted that the *Tribune* began publication in 1884, with Chris J. Perry as editor and proprietor; and was reputed to be "one of the leading Afro-American journals of the country" and "a staunch advocate of the rights of the Negro." Penn reprinted an editorial from the *Tribune* that appeared on its fourth anniversary. This is one of the earliest statements by the editor of the newspaper assessing some of the reasons for its success, and outlining the commitments of the paper to the education of the masses "in their best interests."

> The *Tribune* is a paper of the people and for the people. It is the organ of no clique or class. As its purpose is to lead the masses to

> appreciate their best interests and to suggest the best means for attaining deserved ends. We have no sympathy with the spirit of many colored editors, who complain that their race does not support their ventures. We have been admirably supported. Our past year has been a complete success. We believe that it has been due to our effort to please our patrons and to be worthy of their confidence. It shall be our purpose in the future, as it has been in the past, to maintain *The Tribune's* reputation for consistency, reliability, and news enterprise.[5]

The large increase in the city's black population during the 1880s and 1890s spurred the launching of several other newspapers. The *Philadelphia Sentinal,* edited by George W. Gardner also began publication in 1884. During its initial year the paper's weekly circulation averaged over 600 copies, but by 1896 the paper had ceased publication. By the mid-1890s, however, Perry's *Tribune* had several new competitors, the most important being the *Philadelphia Standard-Echo,* published by William Simpson, and edited by Abel P. Caldwell. Ayer's *Newspaper Annual* reported that for 1894 the weekly circulation for the *Echo's* four pages averaged 1,000 copies, while the *Tribune* with eight pages had a circulation of 700 copies each week.[6] W.E.B. Du Bois's famous study, The *Philadelphia Negro,* published in 1899, discussed the various black newspapers in the city. Du Bois reported that in 1896 the *Standard-Echo* had been suspended. He noted that the *Tribune* was "the chief news sheet and is filled with generally social notes of all kinds, and news of movements among Negroes over the country. Its editorials are usually of little value chiefly because it does not employ a responsible editor." Du Bois did believe, however, that it was "an interesting paper and represents pluck and perserverance on the part of its publishers."[7]

The editor (or managing editor) of the *Philadelphia Tribune* at this time was John W. Harris, a native Philadelphian and graduate of the Institute For Colored Youth, a Quaker endowed high school in the city.[8] Despite Du Bois' criticism, Harris remained with the paper for fourteen more years. Perhaps Harris' longevity as editor was due to his strong "familial ties" to Chris Perry, the publisher of the paper.[9]

Several other black newspapers began circulating in Philadelphia during the early years of the twentieth century. The Philadelphia *Defender,* an eight page weekly, made its appearance in the black community in 1897. The editor was H.C.C. Astwood, and it was published by George Astwood. The circulation of this paper was not reported in the newspaper annuals, but it continued publishing until 1911.[10] Abel P. Caldwell began editing another newspaper in Philadel-

phia in 1901 called the *Courant.*[11] This four page weekly was published by George Mitchell and Dr. G.C. Strickland. The publisher's reports to Ayer's *Newspaper Annual* revealed that between 1907 and 1920 the weekly circulation annually averaged over 15,000 copies. Circulation figures for the *Tribune* during this period ranged from 700 copies in 1901 to 20,000 copies in 1916.[12]

The first complete edition of the *Philadelphia Tribune* that has survived dates from Saturday, January 6, 1912, and demonstrates the newspaper's ongoing commitment to community education. The national news was represented by a lengthy article on the fight of President William H. Taft for renomination by the Republican Party. Fraternal news and the "Sunday School Lesson" were presented, and were regular features. Several other articles and features in the paper were specifically geared toward educating black Philadelphians for social, political, and economic advancement in the city. For example, the paper carried an announcement for a public lecture that was to be given on January 9, 1912 by Mrs. Lela Walker on "The Status of Negro Citizenship," and sponsored by the American Negro Historical Society.[13] The Negro Historical Society was founded in Philadelphia in 1897 in order "collect relics, literature, and historical facts in connection with the African Race, illustrative of their progress and development."[14] The Society sponsored many free lectures for the black community throughout the period 1898 to 1923, and most of the lectures were publicized by the *Tribune.*[15]

There were several reporters who had regular columns in the paper at this time. William C. Bolivar, an important black bibliophile of the period, authored a column called the "Pencil Pusher Points." The columns usually dealt with a wide variety of subjects. In the edition for January 6, 1912, the Pencil Pusher pointed to those black Philadelphians, such as William Still, who were "Stockholders in the Underground Railroad." Reverend Robert H. Pierce of Creditt Baptist Church edited the column on "Churches and Their Pastors." This feature provided information on the activities of the various black churches in the community. The social news was reported in a column called "Flashes and Sparks" usually written by Chris J. Perry, the editor. And the "Sporting Section" reported the latest information on the sports activity at the black colleges and in the local black communities. Small items also appeared with news of the activities in the surrounding black communities of Chester, Media, Ardmore, West Chester, Pa., and Woodbury and Burlington, New Jersey.

Of particular interest for our examination of the black newspaper and

its role in the community was a lengthy article in that issue entitled, "Protect Your Women," probably written by G. Grant Williams, the new managing editor.[16] The article described the work of the Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women, located in South Philadelphia. The Association was formed in 1905 and worked with newly-arrived southern black women interested in living and obtaining employment in the city. The organization saw as one of its primary goals the protection of the younger women from the "immoral influences" of the city. In the *Tribune* article, the author praised the work over the last few years of the Association's President, Reverend Henry L. Phillips, and Secretary, Mrs. S.W. Laytan.[17]

Throughout the period 1912 to 1920, the basic format or "make up" of the *Tribune* with respect to columns and features remained the same.[18] The editorials covered a wide variety of subjects of local, national, and sometimes international importance. Topics ranged from advice on morals and values, to protests against the injustice done to some black person in another country.[19] With reference to the most important issues facing the Philadelphia black community during this period, the *Tribune* did not merely involve itself in educating black Philadelphians about social problems, but played an active role in trying to improve the conditions within the community.

Unlike New York City and Chicago, which experienced sharp increases in their black populations during and after the mobilization for World War I, Philadelphia received a continual flow of southern black migrants from 1890 to 1930. Between 1890 and 1900 the black population in the city increased by 60.4 percent, and between 1910 and 1920 by 58.9 percent (see Table 1). By 1920 blacks were 7.4 percent of the city population, and in 1930 they were over 11 percent. The greater

Table 1
Black Population of Philadelphia, 1880–1940

Year	Total Population	No. Black	% Black	% Increase
1880	847,170	31,699	3.7	
1890	1,046,964	39,371	3.8	24.20
1900	1,293,697	62,613	4.8	60.4
1910	1,549,008	84,459	5.5	33.2
1920	1,823,779	134,224	7.4	58.9
1930	1,950,961	219,599	11.3	63.5
1940	1,931,334	252,757[a]	13.1	13.6

Source: U.S. Census Reports, 1880–1940.
[a]Includes all nonwhites.

part of the increases was attributed to the Great Migration from the rural South to the urban North.[20]

Racial prejudice and discrimination required that blacks coming into the city live in the already overcrowded "colored sections." Sadie T. Mossell in her study of one hundred black migrant families in Philadelphia in 1920 reported that "the housing problem was itself a result of the determination on the part of white people that the migrant should live only in the part of the city in which Negroes previously lived."[21] The *Philadelphia Tribune* became active at a number of levels in assisting the new arrivals in their adjustment to the city. As noted above, the *Tribune* publicized and supported the activities of the Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women. The Armstrong Association, the National Urban League affiliate in the city, received extensive support from the *Tribune* during its fund raising drives, conferences, and campaigns for greater employment opportunities for the southern black migrants.[22] The work of Reverend William D. Creditt, Principal of Downington Industrial School and later pastor of the First African Baptist Church, to improve the employment, housing, and sanitation conditions for black workers brought to the area by the Pennsylvania and Erie Railroads was also reported in the columns of the paper.[23]

In February 1917, a "Negro Migration Committee" was formed in order to "keep in touch with the changing conditions produced by this migration so that it might prevent abuses or secure corrections."[24] The Committee and its sub-committees were made up of individuals and organization-representatives interested in the migration. The *Tribune* openly supported and publicized the work of the Committee among black citizens.[25]

As the number of blacks increased in the city during this era the number of racial incidents also increased. On July 1, 1914 a mob was reported to have attacked and partially destroyed the newly-purchased home of Mrs. Mary E. Montague on Bernard Street in West Philadelphia. The Department of Public Safety promised "that an investigation would be made."[26] When this was not carried out, the Managing Editor of the *Tribune,* G. Grant Williams, made his own investigation and reported that "we have secured the name of the fellow who led the attack, also the name of the Federal employee who was the instigator of it. . . . It is also known that this man made this threat, 'These niggers have the police to guard them now; wait until they are removed and it becomes a little quiet, we will show them.' " The editor went on to say that "It is our full intention to push this matter so that each one who took

part in the efforts to drive this family from their home shall reap the punishment they so richly deserve."[27] There was no evidence reported that the Director of Public Safety responded to the situation. Indeed, the incident was not even reported in the white press of the city.

Similar incidents of blacks being attacked by white mobs as they moved into their newly-purchased homes were reported in the *Tribune* in November 1914 and December 1915. In an editorial that appeared after the latter attack on a black family, the *Tribune* editor pointed out that "Here in Philadelphia and its neighborhoods public opinion has in several instances of late declared that the Afro-American shall not buy and occupy and own property in certain districts. . . ."

> When violence has been shown such persons in the damaging of their property and the threatening of their lives, the police and the courts have not afforded sufficient protection and redress to the outraged citizens. The lawless public opinion has been allowed to have its way. . . . Treading upon our rights in Philadelphia is becoming common. Unless we organize and fight it, we shall soon be in as bad a mess as we are in Maryland and other Southern states.[28]

In June and July 1916, events took place that were to provide the issues around which the black community would rally and mobilize.

Philadelphia was one of the few northern cities that allowed blacks to serve as policemen during this period.[29] The number of blacks on the police force was very low, and black patrolmen were usually confined to predominantly black areas. In June 1916, the South Street Businessmen's Association, a predominantly Jewish merchants organization, passed a resolution and sent it to Director of Public Safety, William Wilson, calling for the removal of the black policemen from the South Street area. According to the merchants, "the colored people who crowd the thoroughfare would have more respect for the authority of a white man."[30] On June 30, 1916, G. Grant Williams, the *Tribune's* managing editor, presided over a meeting of protest at O'Neill Hall in South Philadelphia. At that meeting, representatives of the leading black fraternal, social, and religious organizations agreed to support a boycott of white-owned businesses on South Street. The *Tribune* commented on the situation.

> Jews have drawn the color-line in moving picture and other theaters, and now to think of it, they are objecting to colored

> policemen on South Street because a few improvements have been made.
>
> Three-fourths of the money spent on South Street is from the pocket books of some colored man, woman or child, and if we continue to give them our money and increase their wealth, pretty soon they will start to object to seeing colored people walk on South Street.[31]

The boycott was successful and the Business Association was forced to rescind the resolution. In this instance, the *Philadelphia Tribune* and its managing editor, G. Grant Williams, spearheaded the action of black organizations to redress grievances and infringements upon the rights of black citizens.

With the advent of World War I, the migration of southern blacks to Philadelphia increased. It was estimated that between 1915 and 1920, over 40,000 blacks migrated to the city.[32] As blacks tried to move into previously all white sections of South Philadelphia where they were employed in government installations, racial incidents continuously occurred.[33] On July 23, 1918, the newly-purchased home of a black woman, Mrs. Adella Bond, in the 2900 block of Ellsworth Street was attacked by a white mob; and Mrs. Bond fired into the crowd and wounded one of the rioters. The incident sparked four days of interracial rioting in South Philadelphia, that eventually led to the deaths of three whites and one black, and over three score injured.[34] In the aftermath of the racial flare up, G. Grant Williams and Chris J. Perry aided black victims. They used the columns of the *Tribune* to publicize the activities of the Colored Protective Association, which was formed to protect the legal rights of blacks arrested during the rioting. The newspaper was also instrumental in focusing the attention of national military authorities on the role played by white sailors and soldiers in instigating some of the racial disturbances.[35]

The period 1917 to 1932 witnessed the growth and flowering of the black press throughout the United States. Theodore Vincent in his examination of black political journalism during the Harlem Renaissance era suggested that "the prime of the black American press covered the years of the U.S. involvement in World War I and the height of the Great Depression of the 1930s."

> In the number of newspapers and magazines on the news stands, and in the percentage of blacks reading them, the Renaissance press outstripped any other in American history. The size of the press mushroomed as journalists capitalized on the dramatic story of the

> World War, on the mass migration of blacks from the rural South to northern cities, and on the rediscovery of black culture. Essays, poems, short stories, and serialized novels were published, not only in black magazines but in black newspapers as well.[36]

During the 1920s *Opportunity,* the official magazine of the National Urban League, published a series of articles by Eugene Gordon, a journalist, describing and rating the black newspapers in the country. In 1924, 1925, 1927, and 1928 with respect to news reporting, quality of editorials, special features, and general make up, the *Philadelphia Tribune* was rated one of the top six or seven black newspapers in the United States.[37]

There were many changes in the size, appearance, and staffing of the *Tribune* during this decade. In May 1921, Chris J. Perry, editor of the paper, died and was succeeded by G. Grant Williams. But in June 1922, Williams passed away, and the newspaper was placed in the capable hands of Eugene Washington Rhodes, a young reporter and graduate of Lincoln University. Rhodes would serve as editor until 1944, and as publisher from 1941 to 1963.

Born on October 29, 1896 in Camden, South Carolina Rhodes went to the public elementary schools of the city and received his secondary schooling at Benedict College, a private black school in Columbia, South Carolina. In 1918 he came North to Lincoln University in Oxford, Pennsylvania, receiving his B.S. degree in 1922, and began working at the *Tribune.* After the death of G. Grant Williams, Rhodes was named editor of the paper by the Board of Directors in late 1922. The following year he married Bertha Perry, the eldest daughter of the late founder of the paper, Chris J. Perry; and entered the University of Pennsylvania Law School, but did not remain because of illness. In 1924 Rhodes enrolled at Temple University Law School, and was graduated in 1926. He was subsequently admitted to the Pennsylvania Bar. Rhodes served in a number of public positions between 1926 and 1941, but the basis of his enormous fame and influence came from being editor and publisher of the *Philadelphia Tribune,* the most important black newspaper in the city.[38]

Rhodes and the Board of Directors instituted a number of changes in the make up on the *Tribune.*[39] The entire paper and the print-size were enlarged, and the columns were widened. These changes probably contributed to the paper being rated in the top three black newspapers in the country during the decade with respect to general appearance.[40] The annual weekly circulation remained at or above 20,000 copies through-

out the 1920s in spite of an increase in the price of a subscription. Through its membership in the Associated Negro Press, founded in 1919, the *Tribune* was able to carry more national black news than previously. The paper also carried the syndicated news columns of a number of black leaders, including Kelly Miller, William Pickens, and Carter G. Woodson. Throughout the period 1912 to 1941, the *Tribune* provided thorough coverage of the social, religious, political, and economic news of the Philadelphia and neighboring black communities.[41]

During the 1920s and 1930s there was a great increase in the amount of advertising found in the weekly *Tribune*. The newly established advertising department was successful in attracting the business of large numbers of black and white real estate agencies, clothing and furniture stores, funeral homes, and schools. The entertainment section of the paper, which reviewed theatrical and movie performances in the city, also contained many advertisements for movie houses, theaters, and night clubs. And throughout this period, Eve Lyn Reynolds reported regularly on the activities of Philadelphia's "Negro Society."[42]

The migration of southern blacks to Philadelphia continued to be an important topic reported in the *Tribune* during the twenties. The changing social conditions for black migrants were the subject of numerous editorials and articles.[43] Interracial conflict and cooperation were highlighted, and the increase in Ku Klux Klan activity in the city during the decade led to several denunciations of the organization and its practices to the municipal government.[44] Attempts to improve race relations were often praised by the editors of the *Tribune*. Beginning in 1925, for example, the newspaper gave wide coverage to the annual "Friendship Week" activities, sponsored by the Citizens Committee for Regular School Attendance. During this week attempts were made to further interracial understanding through programs, lectures, and other educational activities that were presented in the public schools, and throughout the city.[45]

The 1920s witnessed a sharp increase in black political activity in the city, and the *Tribune* played a significant role in raising the political consciousness of black citizens. The first Afro-Americans to be elected to the Pennsylvania state legislature from Philadelphia, John Asbury, and Andrew Stevens, received much support and publicity from the *Tribune*.[46] Once in the legislature, the black representatives introduced a state equal rights bill. The measure called for the protection of "all persons in their equal rights regardless of race, color, or creed in places of public accommodations, entertainment or amusement and providing

for the violation of the same."[47] The transit of the bill through the committees of the legislature, the committee hearings, and the activities of groups or individuals opposing the measure were reported weekly in the *Tribune* in 1921.[48] The bill failed to get out of committee that year and was re-introduced by Representative John Asbury in 1923, but this time it was merely tabled by the House Judiciary General Committee.[49] In spite of the support of the Philadelphia black community for the equal rights bills, generated and maintained by the *Tribune,* no law was passed during the entire decade. The lobbying efforts of hotel owners and restauranteurs throughout the state successfully defeated the measure. These groups argued that if blacks were allowed into their establishments, they would drive away paying white customers. The *Tribune,* however, continued to expose racial discrimination in public accommodations in the city and state, and black politicians were finally successful in gaining the passage of a state equal rights law in 1935. Although the equal rights law was not enacted during the 1920s, the *Tribune* did succeed in laying the ground work for political successes in the 1930s.[50]

Even more important than its role in support of the equal rights bill were the activities of the *Philadelphia Tribune* to bring about an end to the official practice of segregation in the Philadelphia public schools. Before 1925 the paper supported the activities of other groups, especially black parents' organizations and the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), in protesting the segregated public schools.[51] After 1932 the newspaper publicized the work of the Educational Equality League, which had as its major goal the desegregation of the public schools of the city. But between 1925 and 1932, the *Tribune* led the fight to change the segregationist policies of the Philadelphia Board of Public Education.

Stemming from the nineteenth century when racially segregated schools were legal in the state of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Board of Education maintained specifically designated, separate black schools, not as the only schools where black children could enroll, but as the only schools where black teachers were allowed to teach. These thirteen or fourteen black public elementary schools were thus serviced by the only black teachers and principals in the entire public school system. With the Great Migration the number and percentage of black children in the public schools, especially the elementary schools, increased sharply. In 1915 blacks were 5.6 percent of the total public school enrollment, but in 1925 they were 10.6 percent of the total, and 11.6 percent of the elementary school enrollment.[52] During this period the number of

separate black public schools gradually increased. The creation of a separate black school by the Philadelphia School Board involved the transformation of a school which had a ninety-five or one hundred percent black student body and an all white faculty, to one with an all black student body and an all black staff.[53] Moreover, in September 1925, the School Board decided to designate the new Walter George Smith School in South Philadelphia the newest separate black school. This action led to a protest by white parents who had hoped that their children would be enrolling in the "brand-new" Smith School.[54]

Many black Philadelphians also protested the increasing school segregation during the decade. Between 1922 and 1925 the Philadelphia NAACP sent several letters of protest to the School Board, and met with school officials on the problem of the separate schools. School officials, however, did not respond positively to the requests that they end the practice of segregation in the city schools. Enraged black parents whose children were denied admission to their "neighborhood" school, and told to enroll in the nearest black school, sometimes brought suit against the Board of Education for discrimination. But the School Board would always win in court by upholding its right to assign students to any school in the system.[55] The *Philadelphia Tribune* reported these activities, and fully supported the leaders of the protests.[56] But in 1926 the *Tribune's* editors and staff felt the need to do more.

On April 17, 1926 the newspaper announced the formation of the *Tribune* Defense Fund Committee, which would collect funds for use in litigation against the School board. The goal of the Defense Fund was to raise $1,000 which would be turned over to any group involved in a suit to bring an end to segregation in the Philadelphia public school system. The Chairman of the Defense Fund Committee was E. Washington Rhodes, the editor of the paper. Money was solicited for the Fund through the columns of the *Tribune,* and deposited in a local black bank.[57] Beginning on December 5, 1926 a series of rallies were held throughout the black community in the interest of the Defense Fund.[58] At the rally held at the Royal Theater on October 16, 1927, which featured Kelly Miller, a dean at Howard University, and V.F. Calverton, the literary critic and editor of *The Modern Quarterly,* it was announced that the Defense Fund had passed the $1,000 mark.[59] Chairman Rhodes notified the officers of the local NAACP that the *Tribune* Committee would make the Fund available whenever the organization began litigation against the School Board.[60] The local NAACP, however, was unable (or unwilling) to bring litigation because of internal problems. The Defense Fund remained unclaimed until

1932, and there was no change in the practice of segregation in the public schools of the city until the mid-1930s.[61]

In 1932, after the black community mobilized to have an overtly racist textbook removed from use in the public schools, the Educational Equality League was formed. The organization took the lead in the struggle to end segregation in the Philadelphia public schools, and during the 1930s attained its three major goals; the appointment of a black to the Philadelphia Board of Public Education, the appointment of the first black teachers to the secondary schools, and the abolition of the dual lists (black and white) for the appointment of teachers in the public elementary schools.[62] The *Tribune* publicized and urged support of the activities of the League, and Editor E.W. Rhodes served as Vice President of the organization. These campaigns brought about an end to the official practice of segregation in the Philadelphia public schools.[63]

The Great Depression had a devastating effect upon black Philadelphia. Although some researchers would probably argue that the depression had a disasterous effect upon all Philadelphians, most scholars would agree that blacks suffered far more than whites.[64] At the height of economic crisis it was reported that approximately 51 percent of black males and females who normally would have been employed, were without jobs. Unemployment among blacks throughout the 1930s was higher than among whites, and black unemployment rates in the city did not begin to resemble those of whites until the beginning of World War II.[65]

At the outset of the depression, the *Tribune* informed the black community about what was being done and what it could do to help alleviate the distressful conditions among blacks. The various self-help programs and activities of black social organizations, churches, and schools were reported by the newspaper. The work of such organizations as the North Philadelphia Relief Society and the Relief Committee of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World (the Elks) was described and supported.[66] The most important black self-help activities during the early years of the depression were the campaigns and movements to gain jobs for blacks in the city. And in this instance, the assistance of the *Tribune* in these campaigns graphically demonstrates the many levels at which the newspaper functioned in trying to improve the conditions in the black community.

Initially, the *Tribune* informed black Philadelphians of the activities carried out in other black communities (New York and Chicago) to deal with the problem of unemployment.[67] In February 1930, the paper editorialized about the "Crusade for Jobs" which was being launched in

the city and pointed out that the Chamber of Commerce and other groups "must not leave Negroes out of their considerations of the problem of finding jobs for large numbers of unemployed workers."[68] In addition, *Tribune* reporters investigated the local and national employment conditions among blacks, and thus provided important information on the magnitude of the unemployment problem from the earliest years of the economic crisis.[69] In April 1930, armed with the information gathered by the *Tribune* and from other sources, the Armstrong Association, the Philadelphia NAACP, and various black civic associations began to pressure employers and businesses to hire blacks. By the end of the year some positive results appeared, and blacks began to gain employment in areas where they had previously been barred.[70] Throughout the depression decade, the *Philadelphia Tribune* gathered statistics and other data on the employment conditions for blacks in various industries and occupations in the city, and publicized the campaigns and protests of organizations involved in the struggle to provide meaningful employment for black citizens.[71]

With the advent of the New Deal in 1933, the newspaper aided the black community by exposing discrimination against blacks practiced by the new federal relief agencies. Indeed, the paper seemed to engage in this activity with added zest, perhaps because the *Tribune* had traditionally considered itself a Republican newspaper.[72] In Philadelphia there were only a few "Negro projects" supported by New Deal agencies.[73] The National Youth Administration (NYA), for example, which had a separate section for "Negro Affairs," was often praised by the *Tribune* for its educational and recreational programs in the Philadelphia black community.[74] But many of the other alphabet agencies did not make special provisions for blacks, and thus were heavily criticized for allegedly discriminatory practices. For example, the wage schedules set for various industries by the National Industrial Recovery Administration caused a number of problems for black workers. Many employers would not hire black workers because they believed that the wage standards were too high to be paid to blacks. Discrimination practiced by state employment offices in Philadelphia prevented many blacks from obtaining positions on Civil Works Administration (CWA) and Public Works Administration (PWA) projects. State employment office personnel would only send blacks to apply for what were termed "Negro jobs," no matter what their qualifications. Moreover, even if a job was not labeled "For Whites Only," when a black person was sent to fill the position, the *Tribune* reported that the employer often refused to hire the black applicant.[74]

With the beginning of the national defense mobilization in 1939 and 1940, the Office of Production Management (OPM) in Washington, D.C. pledged itself to a policy of "justice for Negro Americans in the program of national defense."[76] Philadelphia, one of the major industrial centers on the East Coast, received a large number of government defense contracts. Black workers hoped that they would not again be the victims of discriminatory hiring practices in Philadelphia industries, especially since many of these industries were receiving funding from the federal government. The *Tribune* was active in two problematic areas for black workers with respect to the national defense mobilization. First, the newspaper monitored the hiring practices of many Philadelphia industries, and exposed instances of discrimination. During 1940–1941, editorials and features described the discrimination against black workers employed in the navy yards, factories, and post offices in the city.[77] In the ensuing investigations by Office of Production Management officials of discrimination in defense industries, it was reported that when some employers were asked why they had so few black workers, they replied that they could find no "qualified" blacks for the positions. This became the second area of *Tribune* activity during the defense build up.[78]

The lack of qualified black workers for jobs in defense industries agitated many members of the Philadelphia black community. Individuals and organizations drew attention to the need for more skilled black workers, and the *Tribune* continually urged blacks, especially youths, to enroll in the trade and defense courses being offered throughout the city to qualify for the new skilled and semi skilled jobs opening up in the defense industries.[79] Unfortunately, a number of studies were able to demonstrate that blacks who enrolled and/or graduated from the defense training programs in the city did not usually obtain employment in the areas for which they were trained. In other words, for blacks, enrollment and/or graduation from the defense training courses generally did not improve occupational status.[80] Nevertheless, the *Tribune* continued to urge blacks to support the defense mobilization and the war effort, and also continued to oppose discrimination against blacks in all areas of city life.[81]

The *Philadelphia Tribune* was at the forefront of activities to try and improve the social, economic, educational, and political conditions for Afro-Americans residing in the "City of Brotherly Love" throughout the period 1912 to 1941. Through its columns southern migrants could learn of groups and individuals available to assist them in finding housing and employment. Discrimination was investigated and exposed

by the paper thus encouraging the local NAACP, the Armstrong Association, civic groups, and other black organizations to swing into action and openly protest (and hopefully change) the practices. The *Tribune* not only supported the candidacies of blacks to the state legislature, but also played a very important role in Magistrate Edward Henry's candidacy for the U.S. House of Representatives from the Second Congressional District of Pennsylvania in 1938. Although Henry lost the election, the campaign demonstrated that the support of the *Philadelphia Tribune* would be important to any politician seeking the approval of the black electorate in the city.[82]

Throughout the period 1912 to 1940, the black newspapers in Philadelphia in general and the *Tribune* in particular were important educational agencies for the black community. From its founding the editors and publishers of the *Tribune* viewed the paper as an important participant in the social, political, and economic advancement of black Philadelphians and a repository of the traditions and cultural heritage of Afro-Americans. The newspaper announced the public meetings and educational programs and disseminated information on what occurred at them through editorials, articles, and special features. It published columns on "Negro History and Heroes" in order to provide its readers with information about the African heritage in this country and throughout the world. "School and Community News," "Health Problems," "Religious Affairs," and related topics were regular educational features in the paper. And with regard to raising the political consciousness of black citizen, the *Tribune* supported those issues and politicians who were important in the social, political, and economic advancement of black Philadelphia.

The Swedish social scientist, Gunnar Myrdal, in his famous (or infamous) report for the Carnegie Foundation, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944) summarized the general conceptions of the "Negro press" drawn from a number of researchers, including Frederick Detweiler, Willis D. Weatherford, Charles Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, as well as the members of his staff. Myrdal believed that the major purpose or function of the Negro press was as "an organ of protest." In addition, he argued that in fulfilling its "propaganda function," the Negro press was also important in the creation and maintenance of "group solidarity."

> It is a characteristic of the Negro press that if, on the one hand, it is provincial in focusing interest on the race angle, it, on the other hand, embraces the whole race world. *The press defines the Negro*

> *group to the Negroes themselves.* The individual Negro is invited to share the sufferings, grievances and pretentions of the millions of Negroes far outside the narrow local community. This creates a feeling of strength and solidarity. The press, more than any other institution, has created the Negro group as a social and psychological reality to the individual Negro.[83]

Myrdal then discussed what he termed the "Characteristics of the Negro Press." With respect to the "Negro Weekly," the most important characteristic was its "sensationalism." Many American city newspapers were sensational, Myrdal noted, because the editors and publishers "wanted to reach the largest possible number of readers." But he considered the Negro weeklies more sensational than white papers. "The main factor in the explanation of why the Negro press exaggerates the American pattern of sensational journalism is, of course, that the Negro community, compared with the white world, is so predominantly lower class." Thus if a black newspaper wanted to expand its circulation, it would have to be even more sensational to attract lower class black readers.[84]

On the other hand, Myrdal also felt that the Negro press was "controlled by the *active* members of the upper and middle classes in the Negro community."

> The people who publish and write the Negro newspaper belong to the upper class. It is the doings and sayings of people in the upper and middle classes that are recorded in the Negro press. They, therefore, set its tone. Indeed, the Negro newspapers are one of the chief agencies for the Negro upper class to spread its opinions among the lower classes of the Negro community.[85]

There is, of course, a degree of inconsistency in Myrdal's contention that the Negro weekly catered to lower-class demands for "sensationalism" while spreading middle class values and opinions. Unfortunately, these views about the nature and the role of the Negro press have been echoed by other researchers.[86]

The charge that Negro weeklies were more sensational than white papers was not substantiated with evidence, so it is difficult to determine whether or not Myrdal would have considered the *Philadelphia Tribune*, a "sensational Negro Weekly." But in comparison with other black newspapers in the city during this period, the *Tribune* did not usually devote its front pages to crime, scandal, and violence. The *Philadelphia Independent*, a black tabloid which began publishing in

1932, specialized in large, bold headlines for stories of crime and violence; and limited coverage of other types of news.[87] According to Eustace Gay, a reporter on the *Tribune* from 1925 to 1944, the paper's management purposely avoided "sensationalism" in reporting the news because it did not consider the *Tribune* to be "that kind of newspaper."[88]

The belief that black newspapers were (and are) forums for the dissemination of middle-class opinions and values seems to be quite general in the historical literature, but there have been few attempts to specify exactly what is meant by "middle-class values."[89] If statements and activities in support of the overall social, economic, and political improvement of the black community are considered expressions of "middle-class values," then the *Philadelphia Tribune* during the period under investigation was hopelessly "middle-class." But using the above as a definition, we can also safely state that the vast majority of blacks in Philadelphia subscribed to "middle-class values." Those blacks Philadelphians who most sociologists would have defined as "lower-class" demonstrated that they were in agreement with the values, policies, and programs of the "middle-class people" who published the *Tribune* through their support of the newspaper and the activities it promoted. To be sure, the editors of the paper during this period, Chris J. Perry, G. Grant Williams, and E. Washington Rhodes, would be considered middle-class by most sociological standards. But all three men were also reputed to have been "Race Men," and thus saw the *Tribune* as an important vehicle for the advancement of the race as a whole in Philadelphia. This belief was expressed almost weekly in the editorial pages of the newspaper. And the success of the *Tribune* over its first fifty or sixty years demonstrates that both "lower" and "upper" status black Philadelphians agreed on the paper's basic policies and practices.[90]

The *Philadelphia Tribune* throughout its history was more than "The Voice of the Black Community," it was (and is) an important Afro-American cultural institution that embodied the predominant cultural values of upper, middle, and lower class black Philadelphians.[91] On the basis of what happened to them in the Quaker City, Afro-Americans recognized that they would have to have their own institutions, that they would control and would provide knowledge and information about their interests as a cultural group. There were Jewish newspapers and Catholic weeklies and numerous foreign language papers in the city, and the *Tribune* tried to represent the interests of the majority of the citizens of African descent. If longevity is considered any measure of success, the century old *Philadelphia Tribune* represents a

significant cultural achievement collectively for Afro-Americans in the city, and individually and personally for those thousands of average, hard-working citizens whose lives have been touched and enhanced by the paper, and who in turn have supported it over the years. The *Philadelphia Tribune* in particular and the black press in general serve as conspicious and significant examples of "black self-determination" within the United States.[92]

NOTES

I would like to thank Evelyn Boyer of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Alfred Woods of the Chicago Public Library, and Pola Patterson of the University of Illinois for their assistance in helping me to gain access to all of the existing issues of the *Philadelphia Tribune* for the period under examination.

1. Chris J. Perry quoted in Philadelphia Tribune (P.T.) November 1, 1934, p. 21 (Fiftieth Anniversary issue). *The Christian Recorder,* which is published by the African Methodist-Episcopal Church, first appeared in 1848 and resembles a newspaper in format, but even to the present time considers itself a "periodical" or "journal."

2. It has been suggested that Perry left Baltimore and came to Philadelphia in order to be "far enough from home to say that he was his own man, but he was close enough to get help quickly from home if he needed it." See, John A. Saunders, *100 Years After Emancipation: History of the Philadelphia Negro* (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 148.

3. For biographical information on Perry, see *ibid.,* pp. 146–151; *P.T.* November 1, 1934, pp. 22–21; Charles White, *Who's Who in Philadelphia: Biographical Sketches of Thirty Prominent Colored Persons of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1912), pp. 74–75.

4. N.W. Ayer and Sons, *American Newspaper Annual and Digest* (Philadelphia, 1888), (hereafter cited as: Ayer, *Newspaper Annual and Digest, 1888*), p. 825.

5. I. Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* (1895, reprinted New York, 1969), pp. 114–115, 147–148.

6. For discussions of the early black newspapers in Philadelphia, see *ibid.,* pp. 221, 355; *The Black Press, 1827–1890: The Quest for National Identity,* edited by Martin Dann, (New York, 1971), pp. 19–20. For circulation figures in 1894, see Ayer, *Newspaper Annual and Digest, 1895,* pp. 1154–1156.

7. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899, reprinted New York, 1967), pp. 228–229.

8. White, *Who's Who in Philadelphia,* pp. 54–55. Harris was listed as "editor" in the annual reports to Ayer's *Newspaper Annual* between 1895 and 1912. See also, George P. Rowell, *American Newspaper Directory* (New York, 1898), p. 853.

9. It was pointed out that John W. Harris was a Brother-in-Law of Mr. Chris J. Perry, publisher of the *Tribune.* Interview with Mr. Eustace Gay, former editor of the *Philadelphia Tribune,* January 8, 1976.

10. Ayer, *Newspaper Annual and Digest,* 1901, p. 744; Monroe Work, *Negro Yearbook,* 1912 (Tuskegee, Ala., 1912), p. 190.

11. For biographical information of Abel P. Caldwell, see White, *Who's Who in Philadelphia,* pp. 34–35, and Penn, *The Afro-American Press,* pp. 213–216.

12. Ayer, *Newspaper Annual and Digest, 1908–1921.* None of these or other early black newspapers in Philadelphia survive.

13. *P.T.*, January 6, 1911, pp. 1-8, *passim*.

14. Minutes of the American Historical Society, October 25, 1897, MS Box 10g, Leon Gardiner Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).

15. *P.T.*, February 15, 1913, p. 2; March 8, 1913, p. 1; January 31, 1914, p. 5; August 8, 1914, p. 4; July 31, 1920, p. 1.

16. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1912, p. 2. G. Grant Williams was managing editor of the *Tribune* between 1909 and 1922. Williams was also very active in several social and political organizations in the city and was an impresario for entertainment coming into black Philadelphia. For information on Williams, see Saunders, *100 Years After Emancipation*, pp. 152-153; and *ibid.*, December 20, 1919, p. 1.

17. *P.T.*, January 6, 1912, p. 1; The Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women, *Report of Fourth Year's Work, 1908* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 1.

18. There were changes in the titles and authors of columns, but the same types of news, such as religious, social, fraternal, and political news, appeared during the period. Two regular features were a column entitled, "Just Gone" and another by "The Old Timer." The writer has been unable to determine the names of the authors of these features. T. Thomas Fortune served as a contributing editor to the paper in 1913 and 1914.

19. The United States occupation of Haiti was an international news story that was widely reported and discussed in the black press, see, for example, *P.T.*, January 17, 1920, p. 13; October 2, 1920, p. 1; November 6, 1920, pp. 1 and 4.

20. For a discussion of the growth of the black population in Philadelphia in the twentieth century, see E. Digsby Baltzell, "Introduction to 1967 Edition," in Du Bois' *The Philadelphia Negro*, pp. xi-xliv.

21. Sadie T. Mossell (Alexander), "The Standard of Living Among 100 Negro Migrant Families in Philadelphia," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 98 (November, 1921), p. 174.

22. For discussion of the work of the Armstrong Association, see John T. Emlen, "The Movement for the Betterment of the Negro in Philadelphia," in *ibid.*, 49 (September, 1913), 81-92; and *P.T.*, August 10, 1912, p. 1; December 7, 1912, p. 1; January 16, 1926, p. 1; March 13, 1926, p. 7; September 18, 1926, p. 9; October 2, 1926, p. 8.

23. *P.T.*, August 19, 1916, p. 1; September 9, 1916, p. 1; August 5, 1919, p. 5.

24. Minutes of the Round Table Conference for Work Among the Colored Peoples of Philadelphia, February 13, 1917, Box 21, Philadelphia Housing Association Papers, Temple University Urban Archives.

25. *P.T.*, March 17, 1917, p. 1; and March 19, 1917, n.p. For a detailed examination of the impact of the Great Migration on Philadelphia, see V. P. Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia: The Social and Educational History of a Minority Community, 1900-1950* (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 15-28.

26. *P.T.*, July 11, 1914, p. 1.

27. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1914, n.p.

28. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1916, n.p. See also, November 7, 1914, p. 1; and January 2, 1916, p. 1.

29. For a discussion of the first black policeman in New York City, see Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem, The Making of A Ghetto: Negro New York, 1890-1930* (New York, 1963), p. 166; for black policemen in Chicago, see St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York, 1945), pp. 255-257.

30. *P.T.*, July 1, 1916, p. 1.

31. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1916, p. 1.

32. Emmett T. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War* (New York, 1920), pp. 134–135.

33. *P.T.*, July 8, 1916, p. 1; June 2, 1917, p. 1; July 6, 1918, p. 4.

34. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1918, p. 1. For a detailed discussion of the race riot, see V. P. Franklin, "The Philadelphia Race Riot of 1918," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 99 (July 1975), pp. 336–350.

35. *P.T.*, August 17, 1918, p. 4; August 31, 1918, p. 1; October 5, 1918, p. 1.

36. Theodore Vincent, ed., *Voices of a Black Nation: Political Journalism in the Harlem Renaissance* (San Francisco, 1973), p. 22.

37. Eugene Gordon, "Outstanding Negro Newspapers" *Opportunity* 2 (December 1924): 365–367; "Outstanding Negro Newspapers—Reiteration and Detail" *Opportunity* 3 (February 1925), 51–54; "Outstanding Negro Newspapers of 1925" *Opportunity* 3 (December 1927), 358–363; "The Negro Press" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 140 (November 1928): 248–256. Gordon did not rate the black newspapers in 1926, he merely "surveyed" them and did not include the Tribune, see "A Survey of the Negro Press" *Opportunity* 5 (January 1927): 7–11, 32.

38. For biographical information on E. Washington Rhodes, see Saunders, *100 Years After Emancipation*, pp. 154–161; Roy L. Hill, *Who's Who in American Negro Press* (Dallas, Texas 1960), pp. 27–28. The more important public positions held by Rhodes were Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, 1926–1934; Representative in Pennsylvania General Assembly for the Sixth District of Philadelphia, 1938–1940; Chairman, Pennsylvania State Temporary Commission on the Urban Colored Population, 1941–1944; member, Philadelphia Board of Public Education, 1958–1965.

39. The *Tribune* has not survived for the period November 26, 1921 to November 24, 1923. The Board of Directors in 1923 included Ellen C. Perry, Beatrice Briggs, Ethel Jackson, Bertha Perry Rhodes, Chris J. Perry, Jr., and Olivia Scott; see, *P.T.* December 1, 1923, p. 4.

40. Gordon, "Outstanding Negro Newspapers," (1924), pp. 365–367.

41. Ayer, *Newspaper Annual and Digest*, 1920–1930. The price of an annual subscription rose from $1.50 in 1916 to $2.00 in 1924. For information on the Associated Negro Press, see Richard L. Beard and Cyril E. Zoerner, "Associated Negro Press: Its Founding, Ascendency, and Demise," *Journalism Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1969), 47–52.

42. A perusal of almost any issue of the *Philadelphia Tribune* during the 1920s and 1930s would show that advertising was a very important function of the paper. For a statement by a white businessman describing the sales and profits that resulted after he placed several advertisements in the *Tribune*, see October 23, 1926, p. 1. The "news" reported in the society columns of black newspapers has been described as examples of "make believe" and attempts at "wish-fulfillment" on the part of some middle-class Negroes. Although some of the accounts seemed to be accurate, it is outside the scope of this paper to try to verify the accounts of Negro society which appeared in the *Tribune*. For a discussion of black newspapers and Negro society, see E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of A New Middle Class* (New York, 1957), pp. 195–223; and Nathan Hare, *The Black Anglo Saxons* (New York, 1965), passim.

43. See, for example *P.T.*, July 12, 1924, p. 7; November 22, 1924, p. 1; October 2, 1926, p. 8; January 1, 1927, p. 1.

44. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1924, p. 1; July 19, 1924, p. 5; August 2, 1924, p. 1; December 6, 1924, p. 1; June 12, 1926, p. 1.

45. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1925, p. 6; February 14, 1925, p. 1; January 15, 1927, p. 9; February 2, 1928, p. 2; January 30, 1930, p. 5.

46. For information on the campaign of Asbury and Stevens for the Pennsylvania state legislature, see *P.T.*, February 21, 1920, p. 1; March 27, 1920, p. 1; April 17, 1920, p. 1; January 1, 1921, p. 1.

47. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the Session Begun at Harrisburg on the Fourth Day of January, 1921* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1921), H.B. No. 269, pp. 369, 1022.

48. *P.T.*, February 12, 1921, p. 4; February 19, 1921, p. 1; February 26, 1921, p. 1; March 27, 1921, p. 1.

49. *Journal of the House . . . January, 1923,* H.B. No. 569, p. 831.

50. For incidents of discrimination in public accommodations against blacks in the city, see *P.T.*, March 22, 1924, p. 9; April 5, 1924, p. 1; May 24, 1924, p. 1; December 27, 1924, p. 4. The Equal Rights Law of 1935 is reprinted in Clara Hardin, *The Negroes of Philadelphia: The Cultural Adjustment of a Minority Group* (Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1945), pp. 152–153.

51. For information on the activities of the Philadelphia NAACP to try and change the policies of segregation in the public schools, see NAACP Branch Correspondence, Philadelphia Branch, 1920–1925, Boxes G-186 and G-187, Library of Congress, Manuscript Collection.

52. Black enrollments and segregation in Philadelphia public schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are examined in V.P. Franklin's, "The Persistence of School Segregation in the Urban North—An Historical Perspective," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 1 (February 1974), 53–67, *passim.*

53. For descriptions of the creation of separate black schools during the early 1920s, see *P.T.*, October 23, 1920, p. 7; December 11, 1920, p. 1; February 26, 1921, p. 1.

54. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1925, p. 1.

55. A detailed account of the struggle to desegregate the Philadelphia Public Schools during the 1920s may be found in Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia,* pp. 71–86.

56. The leaders of the school struggle before 1925 were Rev. William Imes of the Philadelphia NAACP, and Dr. Nathan F. Mossell, Director of the Frederick Douglass Hospital in the city.

57. *P.T.*, April 17, 1926, p. 1. See also, April 24, 1926, pp. 1 and 4.

58. It is difficult to determine exactly the number of rallies that were held in support of the defense fund, but five are listed in the *Tribune,* February 19, 1927, p. 1, and five are listed on March 5, 1927, p. 1.

59. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1927, p. 16.

60. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1927, p. 1. The letter was reprinted in the newspaper.

61. For a discussion of the "internal problems" of the Philadelphia NAACP in the late 1920s and early 1930s, see H. Viscount Nelson, "Race and Class Consciousness of Philadelphia Negroes With Special Emphasis on the Years Between 1927 and 1940," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1969), pp. 310–366.

62. The Educational Equality League also was active in bringing about the desegregation of Berwyn and Chester, Pennsylvania public schools, see Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia,* pp. 137–142, 271.

63. The school campaigns of the 1930s are detailed in *ibid.,* pp. 213–233.

64. For a comparison of the effects of the depression on blacks and whites, see Joseph H. Willits, "Some Impacts of the Depression Upon the Negro in Philadelphia," *Opportunity* 11 (July 1933), 200–204.

65. "Unemployment in Philadelphia, 1938," *Monthly Labor Review*, 59 (October 1939), 838–849; Gladys L. Palmer, *Philadelphia Workers in a Changing Economy* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1956), pp. 163–164.

66. *P.T.*, December 25, 1930, p. 2; January 1, 1931, p. 1; May 4, 1933, p. 3; May 17, 1934, p. 12; December 30, 1937, p. 2.

67. *Ibid.*, February 13, 1930, p. 1; August 14, 1930, p. 9.

68. Editorial: "Crusade For Jobs," *ibid.*, February 20, 1930, p. 16.

69. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1930, p. 1; April 17, 1930, p. 1.

70. The campaigns of the North and West Philadelphia Civic Associations were successful in gaining some employment in businesses serving the black communities of these section of the city, see *ibid.*, October 9, 1930, p. 1; November 27, 1930, p. 1.

71. For a detailed discussion of the activities of the *Tribune* and the black civic organizations in trying to gain jobs for blacks in the city, see Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia*, pp. 117–121.

72. In the reports of the newspaper to Ayer's *Newspaper Annual and Digest* from 1900 to 1923, the *Tribune* was listed as a "Republican" paper. In reading the editorials and political articles of the newspaper for the period after 1924 through the 1940s, it is clear the paper was still pro-Republican, even though it was listed as "Independent" in Ayer's *Digest* during that period.

73. One important WPA "Negro Project" was the compilation of a history of the Philadelphia Negro from the colonial era to the 1930s. For information on the project, see Philadelphia Housing Association Papers, Boxes 8 and 63, Temple University Urban Archives; and *P.T.*, March 28, 1934, p. 1; January 4, 1938, p. 20.

74. New Deal educational and recreational activities among blacks in Philadelphia are discussed in Melvin Maskin, "Black Education and the New Deal: The Urban Experience," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973), pp. 287–311.

75. For critiques of the NRA codes, see *P.T.*, August 31, 1933, p. 3; August 31, 1933, p. 3; September 21, 1933, p. 2. Information on the discriminatory practices of the employment offices may be found in the *Tribune* on March 2, 1933, p. 14; July 6, 1933, p. 4; March 1, 1934, p. 1.

76. Quoted from Council for Democracy, *The Negro and Defense, A Test of Democracy* (New York, 1941), p. 1.

77. *P.T.*, December 14, 1939, p. 4; March 14, 1940, p. 2; May 30, 1940, p. 4; November 31, 1940, pp. 1 and 4; December 5, 1940, p. 5.

78. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1940, p. 1; January 2, 1941, p. 1.

79. *Ibid.*, December 28, 1939, p. 10; January 4, 1940, p. 4; December 19, 1940, p. 4; August 14, 1941, p. 3; November 29, 1941, p. 4.

80. The results of several studies of the employment opportunities of blacks enrolled in the defense training programs may be found in Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Final Report of the Pennsylvania State Temporary Commission on the Conditions of the Urban Colored Population* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1943), pp. 509–520.

81. For information on the role of the *Tribune* in support of the war effort, see Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia*, pp. 156–66.

82. *P.T.*, April 7, 1938, p. 1; May 19, 1938, p. 1; August 11, 1938, p. 1; October 6, 1938, p. 1; November 3, 1938, p. 1; November 10, 1938, p. 1.

83. For an examination of the educational activities of the *Tribune* and black social organizations in Philadelphia, see V.P. Franklin, "In Pursuit of Freedom: The Educa-

tional Activities of Black Social Organizations in Philadelphia, 1900–1930," in *New Perspectives on Black Educational History,* edited by V.P. Franklin and James D. Anderson (Boston, 1978), pp. 113–128.

84. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, Vol. 2 (New York, 1944), pp. 910–911.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 916–917. It should be noted that there were others who concluded that many black weeklies, including the *Philadelphia Tribune* were *not* overly "sensational." See, P. Bernard Young, "News Content of Negro Newspapers" *Opportunity* 7 (December, 1929): 370–372, 387.

86. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, pp. 920–921.

87. See, for example, E.F. Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), pp. 174–194; John Burma, "An Analysis of the Present Negro Press" *Social Forces* 26 (December, 1947): 172–180; J. Baynton and E. Bell, "An Exploratory Study of the Role of the Negro Press," *The Journal of Negro Education* 26 (Winter, 1951): 8–15; Albert L. Kreiling, "The Making of Racial Identities in the Black Press: A Cultural Analysis of Race Journalism in Chicago, 1878–1929," (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Ill., 1978) David J. Hellwig, "The Afro-American and the Immigrant, 1880–1930: A Study of Black Social Thought," (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1973), *passim.*

88. The *Philadelphia Independent* for the years 1932 to March 4, 1967 is available on microfilm at the Free Library of Philadelphia.

89. Interview with Eustace Gay, January 8, 1976.

90. Although Frazier's discussion of the "middle-class" bias of the black press is placed within the context of his description of the black bourgeoisie, other researchers have failed to examine the nature of the "middle-classness" of the black press. These writers, nonetheless, state that black newspapers primarily reflect "middle-class values." See, especially, Kreiling, "The Making of Racial Identities," and Hellwig, "The Afro-American and the Immigrant." For discussions of the concept of "Race Man," see W.E.B. du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn* (New York, 1940), pp. 131, 133; James Young, *Black Writers of the Thirties* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), pp. 3–4.

91. The slogan, "Voice of the Black Community," has appeared on the front page of the *Tribune* at various times throughout its history. It is presently being used (1984).

92. The historical relationship between the "black press" and Afro-American self-determination is detailed in V.P. Franklin, *Black Self-Determination: A Cultural History of the Faith of the Fathers* (Westport, Conn., 1984).